Fragments of a Gnostic Anthropology in the *Gospel of Judas* A Comparison with the *Secret Book of John*

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Several statements allegedly uttered by Jesus in the *Gospel of Judas* may help to reveal the anthropological views of the author(s) of this text. I propose that within the relevant group of sayings we can distinguish three subcategories: statements about the origin and nature of humankind, statements about the "generation" of the Gnostics and its relationship to other human "generations", and, thirdly, statements about the composite nature of the human being. We face several problems, however, when we study these passages in the *Gospel of Judas*. First of all, the text in the Codex Tchacos is sometimes badly damaged. Furthermore, the wording of the statements in question is often very brief and terse, giving the impression that they were written for a well-informed readership. In some cases, a modern interpreter can only guess at their meaning. It might be helpful to compare this fragmentary information with anthropological views expressed in other Gnostic writings, in particular with the detailed teachings of the *Apocryphon* (or *Secret Book*) *of John*[1]. This might shed some more light on damaged or otherwise unclear passages in the *Gospel of Judas* and, additionally, to trace the particular features of this text.

1. *Archetypal and Earthly Humankind*

a. *The* Gospel of Judas

The descent myth of the *Gospel of Judas* (Codex Tchacos, pp. 47-54) briefly mentions the origin of humankind. Our interest is in the summary Gnostic retelling of the biblical story of the creation of Adam and Eve in 52.14-25. First, however, we will turn to the preceding report about archetypal humankind. In 48.21-26 Jesus introduces Adam's divine prototype Adamas[2]:

> And Adamas was (nefyoop) in the first cloud of light that no angel ever saw among all those called "divine".

[1] This text survives in a shorter and a longer version. The short version is inscribed in the Berlin Codex (Codex Berolinensis, abbr.: BG) and in Nag Hammadi Codex III, the longer version in NHC II and IV.
[2] Adamas is a Graecizised form of the biblical name Adam. A Hellenized audience would associate this name with ἀδάμας, a Greek word for hard metal, diamond, firmness, and the like. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer*. I 29.3: "they call (him) Adamas because neither he himself has ever been dominated nor have those from whom he sprang" (cf. also the English term "adamant").

Note that the coming into existence of Adamas is not mentioned (unless we assume that this was reported in the damaged first lines of p. 48[3]). We hear only that Adamas existed in the first luminous cloud[4]. Adamas is presented as an unchanging and eternal divine idea or thought[5]. Unfortunately, the subsequent codex lines (49.1-5) are seriously damaged:

> [.....] that [.....] the image (qikwn) [.....] and after the likeness (kata pine) of [this an]gel.

Perhaps Seth was mentioned in these lines[6]. The words that can be read are an echo of Gen 1:26. It is possible that the image of the transcendent God, the Invisible Spirit, is meant, and that "this angel" denotes the Self-generated[7].

As we will see below, basically the same formula ("after the image and after the likeness", in reverse order), is quoted in Jesus' report of the creation of Adam and Eve by Saklas and his angels (52.14-17). The latter report is a paraphrastic retelling of the biblical creation story, where this echo of the Genesis text can be expected, while the surviving words of the present section of the myth are likely to point to the relationship between prototypes. We are left with the impression that the biblical terminology is used here to express a typically Platonizing conception of the supernal world as a hierarchical structure of divine forms or thoughts, the later ones being mimetic representations of earlier ones. One incompletely preserved sentence is devoted to the generation of Seth (49.5-6):

> He (the Self-generated) made the incorruptible [generation] of Seth appear [....].

The question of how the generation of Seth is related to humankind in general will be discussed below (in 2a and b). Two codex pages later (50.18-21) mention is made of the appearance of the first human:

> From there (the place where the Self-generated with his aeons is) the first human (pyrp nrwme) with his incorruptible powers appeared"[8].

This passage seems to form a bridge between the information about Adamas, the archetypal human who always exists in the divine realm, and the report of the creation of Adam as an earthly human being. Attention is focused on Adam's descent from above and on his "incorruptible powers". (The brevity of the earthly life of Adam

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[3] Uwe-Karsten Plisch, *Was nicht in der Bibel steht*, 2006, 173; id., "Das Evangelium des Judas", *ZAC* 10 (2006), 11; Rodolphe Kasser and Gregor Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas*, 2007 (crit. ed.), 215; Johanna Brankaer and Hans-Gebhard Bethge suggest "[ein anderer Äon]", *Codex Tchacos*, 276f and 350f; Jacques van der Vliet, *Het evangelie van Judas*, 2006, 78f, Peter Nagel, "Das Evangelium des Judas", *ZNW* 98 (2007), 251, and April D. DeConick, *The Thirteenth Apostle*, 2007, 81, do not fill the lacuna.

[4] The first cloud might be the luminous cloud from which the Self-generated appeared (47.15-16, the first cloud mentioned in the myth). But note the different terminology: oukloole nouoi:n (47.15-16), tyorp ncHpe nte pouoi:n (48.22-23).

[5] Middle-Platonist philosophers tended to consider the Ideas (notably as they appear in Plato's *Timaeus*) as the thoughts of God**.** See e.g. John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, rev. ed. 1996, 95, 254f, 410.

[6] Cf. Van der Vliet, 97f.

[7] Cf. 47.16-21.

[8] Or perhaps "From whom (the Father?) the first human with his incorruptible powers appeared". Cf. Van der Vliet, 97 and 100f.

and his children will be reported in the final section of the descent myth, p. 53.) The creation of earthly humankind is related in just a few sentences (52.14-25):

> Then Saklas said to his angels, "Let us create a human being (ourwme) after the likeness and after the image (kata pine auw kata qikwn)". And they fashioned Adam and his wife Eve. But in the cloud she is called "Zoë". For by this name all the generations seek him, and each of them calls her by <these> names.

Note that this free quotation of Gen 1:26 does not explicitly state after whose likeness and image Saklas wished to fashion the human being. We shall come back to this unclearness below (1b). The suggestion that the two sexes were created together may be due to the very summary nature of this report[9]. Jesus adds that "in the cloud" Eve is called "Zoë", and that all human generations know the names of Adam and Eve/Zoë . As we will see below (1b), it is hard to reconcile these two pieces of information about Eve's name "Zoë".

b. The *Secret Book of John*

The descent myth in the *Secret Book of John* agrees, in the main, with that of the *Gospel of Judas*, also as far as the origin of humankind is concerned. However, the myth in the *Secret Book* is much longer and far more detailed. Moreover, it has a marked narrative structure, and it is concerned with questions such as what caused the loss of divine essence from the pleromatic world, and what is the role of humankind in regaining this essence and thus restoring God's original unity.

Also, the *Secret Book* speaks of heavenly prototypes before it reports on the creation of the earthly human and the history of the first human generations. The *Secret Book* mentions four categories of archetypal humans: Adam(as), who is "the perfect true human", his son Seth, the generation of Seth, and, finally, "the souls of those who knew their perfection but did not immediately repent"[10]. This last category is not mentioned in the *Gospel of Judas*. Yet the problem of people who only in the course of time convert to the Gnostic truth is touched upon (see below, 2a).

In the *Secret Book of John*, the creation of Adam and Eve is a long and complicated process. As was said in an earlier section of the myth, Jaldabaoth usurped a portion of the divine essence of his Mother, Sophia (this essence is designated as "the power of his Mother"), when he was removed from the pleromatic world[11]. This provoked a conflict between the true God and his angels, on the one hand, and the cosmic rulers headed by Jaldabaoth, on the other. At stake was the lost divine essence: while the Invisible Spirit aimed to regain this "power", the forces of evil tried to keep it in their sphere of influence. The myth tells how Adam was created by Jaldabaoth and his cronies at the instigation of the true God. Actually the

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[9] As a rule, Gnostic narrations of the creation story underline the androgyny of the first human being. The original androgyny allegedly was ruptured by the creation of Eve (her "separation" from Adam) and destined to be restored. Cf. *Apoc. of Adam* (NHC V,5) 64.20-29; *Gosp. of Thomas* 11 (NHC II,2) 34.22-25; *Gosp. of Philip*, par. 78-79 (NHC II 60.9-22); *Acts of Andrew* 38 (Vat. gr. 5 and 7); Michael A. Williams, "Variety in Gnostic Perspectives on Gender", in Karen L. King (ed.), *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, 1988, 2-22; Luttikhuizen, "The Religious Message of Andrew's Speeches", in Jan N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, 2000, 96-109, there 99f.

[10] BG 34.19-36.14 and par.

[11] BG 38.1-19 and par.

human being appears to be God's chosen instrument to recover the divine power. First he revealed himself to the cosmic rulers in a human form:

> And the holy and perfect Father, the primordial Man, made himself known to them in human form. The Blessed One revealed his image to them[12]. And all the seven archontic authorities nodded in agreement. They saw in the water the form of the image (qikwn). They said to each other, "let us create a human being in the image (qikwn) of God and the likeness (pine)" [13] (cf. Gen 1:26)[14].

This Gnostic creation story explains in whose image the human being was created, but it also causes a problem. For what then is the meaning and function of the preceding report about the archetypal human being Adamas, if Adam was not copied from this model? It is true that in the words quoted God is designated as "the first Man (phoueit nrwme)"[15], but this does not alter the fact that the present version of the Gnostic creation story requires that God (in whatever form or by whatever name), and not Adamas, the ideal human being, was the pattern for the earthly Adam.

In my opinion, this inconsistency suggests that the reference to Gen 1:26 was secondarily inserted in a Platonizing myth about the creation of the human being after a noetic model. It may be significant, in this connection, that in several narrations of the Gnostic myth, the heavenly prototype as well as its earthly copy are associated with light. We find this, for instance, in the longer version of the *Secret Book of John*, where the cosmic rulers saw the whole region illuminated when they looked at the image[16]. Both the shorter and the longer versions of the *Secret Book* tell us why the first human is called "Adam" by the archontic rulers. They reportedly said to each other:

> "Let us call him Adam, that his name and its power may become a light for us"[17].

It is, however, hardly possible to see a connection between Adam's name and the intention of the rulers to catch light power. I suspect that this feature is a relic of a hypothetical earlier version of the story in which it was the appearance of a man-like light image that prompted the cosmic gods to fashion their creature: they made a

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[12] The longer version adds that God's image was reflected in the cosmic waters, II 14.26-30; IV 23.4-8.

[13] In (or after) whose likeness? The authors seem to be in doubt. Cf. Cod. III 22.5-6: "after the image of God and after *His* likeness"; Cod. II 15.2-3 and IV 23.17-18: "after the image of God and after *our* likeness. Cf. *Hyp.Arch*. (NHC II,4: 87.3-33): "They fashioned their [man] after their body and [after the likeness] of God that had appeared [to them] in the waters"; *Orig. World* (NHC II,5: 114.29-32): "The seven rulers fashioned man with his body resembling their bodies, but his likeness resembling the Man that had appeared to them".

[14] BG 47.20-48.14.

[15] Cf. BG 29.10; 49.4-5: "the perfect Man"

[16] II 14.26-33; IV 23.5-12.

[17] BG 49.6-9 and par.; II 15.2-5. Cf. the expressions "Adam of Light" (*Orig. World*, NHC II, 5: 108.21; 112.10, 25; 117.28), "Adam, the Light" (*Holy Book Invis.Spirit*, NHC III,2: 49.8), "Adam, Eye of Light" (*Eugn*. NHC III,3: 81.12; *SophiaJesChr*., BG 3: 100.14; 108.10-11, cf. *Holy Book*, NHC IV,2: 10-11). A wordplay on φως could underlie the association between man and light (the Greek word for "light", φῶς, and one of the words for "man", φώς, are near synonyms), cf. Irenaeus *Adv. Haer*. I 30.1 (lumen/homo); Clemens, Paed. I.6.28; Alistair H.B. Logan, *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy*, 1996, 184.

physical copy in the hope that they could attract and appropriate the light they had seen. I wonder whether the report of Adamas' existence in a cloud of light (*Gospel of Judas* 48.21-23) is reminiscent of this tradition.

This is only the first stage of the complex story of the creation of Adam and Eve in the *Secret Book of John*. After creating Adam's body (in fact his psychic body, see below 3b), the cosmic rulers perceived that their creature could not move. Apparently this was anticipated by the true God. Through his angels, he advised Jaldabaoth to breathe the power of his Mother into Adam (an allusion to Gen 2:7). When Jaldabaoth did what he was told to do, he lost the divine power. Now it was in the soul of Adam, who as a result was more intelligent than his makers. What follows is a countermove by the archonts: they seize Adam -- Adam's soul-body with the divine δύναμις in it -- and cast him into the lowest region of the cosmos, where they imprison him in a material body moulded from the four elements[18]. So the innermost core of Adam's being was separated from its origin in the world above and covered in darkness.

This situation turned out to be unsatisfactory for both parties. Jaldabaoth and his fellows realised that in spite of Adam's imprisonment in a material body deep down in their cosmos, he still possessed the Mother's divine power. Curiously enough, Gnostic mythologizers used the biblical story of the creation of Eve in order to explain how the demiurgical God tried to empty Adam of his spiritual element:

> He (Jaldabaoth) wished to bring out the power[19] which he himself had given him (Adam). And he brought a deep sleep over Adam (cf. Gen …), etc.[20]

The story is complicated because the figure of Eve was also used to show how the blessed Father took pity on Adam. The Father decided to send to him

> the good Spirit as a helper (cf. Gen 2:18) to the first one who had gone down – who was given the name Adam – namely, Epinoia ("reflection") of the Light, who was called Zoë ("life", cf. Gen 3:21 LXX) by him. And she assists the whole creature by suffering with him, by restoring him to his own temple, and by teaching him about the descent of his defect and by teaching him about its ascent. And Epinoia of the Light was hidden in him in order that the rulers might not know (her) [21].

The sending of the spiritual assistant induced the cosmic rulers to make a countermove: they created a counterfeit spirit, an imitation, that is, of the good helper. The counterfeit spirit was meant "to lead Adam astray, so that he might not know his perfection"[22].

Most likely it was the biblical designation of Eve as Adam's "helper" (Gen 2:18; LXX: βοηθός) that prompted Gnostic myth-tellers to regard Eve as a manifestation (the first manifestation) of the spiritual helper Epinoia. Apparently they imagined Eve as a helper to Adam in the full Gnostic sense of that term, as the one, that is, who taught him the divine truth about his origin, about the cause of his present "defect",

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[18] BG 54.5-55.15 and par.
[19] In Cod. III 29.1, the Greek term δύναμις is used.
[20] BG 58.10-14 and par.
[21] BG 53.4-17 and par.
[22] BG 56.12-17 and par. So two spirits, Epinoia and the counterfeit spirit, inhabit the soul of Adam and his descendants, apart from the divine power.

and about his eventual return (his "ascent")[23]. (Later on in the *Secret Book*, Epinoia is said to have incarnated in the tree of knowledge in the paradise garden. It was allegedly because of her that the demiurgical God forbade Adam and Eva to eat from the tree.[24])

In the Genesis story, Eve is characterized as "the Mother of the Living". According to the Septuagint version of Gen 3:20, it was for this reason that Adam called her "Life (Zoë)": καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αδαμ τὸ ὄνομα της γυναικὸς αὐτου Ζωή, ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων). The brief report about Eve's second name in the *Gospel of Judas* might be understood in the light of this idea. I assume that the inhabitants of the cloud[25] (the people of the holy generation? see below) are the logical subject of the phrase, "in the cloud she is called Zoë": They call Eve by this name because they know that she was a bringer of Life to Adam[26]. But if this is a correct interpretation, as I believe it is, it is strange to find that "each of them (of all the generations?)" calls her by "their names" (by <these> names?[27] by <her both> names?[28]).

2. *The holy generation*

a. *The* Gospel of Judas

On various occasions, the *Gospel of Judas* mentions a strong, great, and holy generation. When the disciples asked Jesus where he had gone when he left them, he answered: "I went to another great and holy generation" (36.15-17). Jesus does not make explicit where the abode of this generation is but we may take it for granted that it is in the supernal world (in the luminous cloud mentioned in the descent myth?)[29].

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[23] This is said explicitly in the opening lines of the *Apoc of Adam* (NHC V,5) 64.2-14: "The revelation which Adam taught to his son, Seth, in the seven-hundredth year, saying: 'Listen to my words, my son Seth. When God had created me out of the earth along with Eve, your mother, I went about with her in a glory that she had seen in the aeon from which we had come forth. She taught me a word of knowledge of the eternal God'." Cf. Luttikhuizen, *Gnostic Revisions*, 71.

[24] BG 57.8-15 and par.

[25] In the *Gospel of Judas* we find several references to a (luminous) cloud, particularly in other sections of its descent myth. The opening section of the myth speaks of the appearance of a cloud of light from which a great angel, the Self-generated, the God of the light, emerged (47.14-21). Next, a second cloud is mentioned from which four other angels came into being (47.21-24). As we have seen, Jesus reports that Adamas existed in the first luminous cloud. In 50.24-25 mention is made of "the cloud of knowledge". Perhaps this expression refers to the same cloud (the first luminous cloud). In a later section of the myth, Jesus says that the archonts Nebro and Saklas came from the cloud (left the cloud? 51.8-9 and 16-17). The final section of the text reports that Judas lifted up his eyes and saw the luminous cloud, and that "he" (Judas or rather Jesus?) entered the cloud. The various contexts of the *Gospel of Judas* in which the (luminous) cloud appears suggest that it is a metaphorical designation of the world above. To people here on earth, the things in the cloud are hidden from view.

[26] Cf. Van der Vliet, 118.

[27] Van der Vliet, 80; Nagel, 254, DeConick, 85.

[28] Brankaer and Bethge, 359. I do not endorse their suggestion that the name "Zoë" corresponds with "Adamas" (360), for this would imply that the existence of two sexes was always in God's mind. Cf. above, n. 9.

Jesus emphasizes that the holy generation is not from this world that has come into being (37.9-10), that it cannot be seen by any creature (cf. 44.9-14), and that it existed prior to heaven, earth and the angels (57.11-14). But other statements suggest that the position of the holy generation is more complex. For instance, Judas asks when the great day of light will dawn for that generation (36.6-9, Jesus does not answer this question). And on p. 57.9-11 Jesus seems to hint at a future exaltation of the holy generation. The conclusion must be that the holy generation is in the divine world and here on earth at the same time. It does not seem difficult to relate this dualistic concept to the above-quoted mythical stories about the origin of archetypal and earthly humankind – as far as their spiritual origin and nature are concerned, the people of the holy generation (or all Adam's descendants? see below) belong to the eternal divine world[30], but as creatures and victims of the archontic powers they now are separated from their true home, until, that is, "the day of light dawns" and they will be exalted.

A different complication has to do with the presence of one or more other human generations[31]. These generations -- in the *Gospel of Judas* preferably represented by the disciples and their successors and followers -- are sharply contrasted with the holy generation. On p. 36.19-21, the disciples ask Jesus why the great generation is superior to them. In his answer, Jesus, among other things, affirms that nobody of mortal birth will be able to associate with the great generation (37.1-8) and, conversely, that those who associate with the disciples and their followers are from the generation of humanity (37.10-13)[32]. On p. 34.15-17 Jesus tells his disciples that no generation of their followers will know him.

How did the Gnostics of the *Gospel of Judas* imagine the coming into existence of these generations? The answer is given in Jesus' words about the rule of the evil powers. In 37.4-6 he assures the disciples that no host of angels of the stars will rule over the holy generation. Cf. his designation of this generation as "the great generation with no ruler over it" (or "the great kingless generation", 53.24). On the other hand, he states that the generations of the followers of the disciples will be ruled by evil powers. See for example 41.4-6, where Jesus, in his address to the disciples, points to "your stars and your angels". On the first pages of the text, we are told that the disciples and their followers serve and worship an evil angel as their "God". The name of this God appears to be Saklas (51.17),[33] the same cosmic figure who with his angels is said to have created earthly humankind. Jesus criticizes the disciples for sacrificing to this God (cf. 56.12-13) and much emphasis is laid on their moral disorientation -- no doubt viewed as an effect of their being guided (seduced,

[29] Apparently Jesus was not bound to an earthly body (he was not a creature of the archonts). He was able to change places: to ascend to the pleromatic world and to return to earth as he wished.

[30] This seems to be the meaning of 45.22-24, "the holy will abide forever in the aeon with the holy angels". Or does this phrase refer to their future exaltation? Cf. the curious temporal adjunct "not now" in the disciples' question, "What is the great generation that is superior to us and holy, that is not now in these aeons?" (36.19-21).

[31] The plural occurs in 39.14-15 and in 54.14; cf. 34.16-18 and 46.22.

[32] The same expression in 43.25.

[33] In 51.8-17 Saklas appears to be an angel who is distinguished from Jaldabaoth-Nebro. This is quite remarkable, for in other Gnostic writings "Saklas" is one of the names of Jaldabaoth. Cf. Brankaer and Bethge, 356.

misled) by evil stars and/or angels. Jesus laughs at the error of the stars and warns Judas that they will all be destroyed along with their creations (55.15-20)[34].

I will now return to the concept of the holy generation. During their earthly lives, the people of this generation also live in the physical world dominated by evil powers. How it is that they are not affected by the rule of Saklas and his angels and how they are able to keep their lives undefiled (cf. 43.8-10) is explained by Jesus in one of his dialogues with Judas: "God caused knowledge (gnosis) to be given to Adam and those with him, so that the kings of chaos and the underworld might not lord over them" (54.8-12).[35]

The question arises whether the expression "those with him (Adam)" refers to the holy generation or rather to all Adam's descendants. If the holy generation is meant, we have to assume that according to the *Gospel of Judas*, the Gnostic truth is given to some people to the exclusion of others. The alternative interpretation seems to me more plausible: gnosis is granted to Adam and all his offspring, but some people reject it and, instead, let themselves be guided by the powers of this world. That this is the more correct interpretation is apparent from the words spoken by Jesus to Judas in a dialogue about the destiny of the souls (43.15-44.7).

In this dialogue Jesus assures Judas that the souls of the holy people will be taken up when their bodies die. Thereupon Judas asks what will happen to the other human generations. First Jesus gives an answer in figurative language: "One cannot sow on [rock] and harvest its fruit"[36]. The subsequent lines are barely legible but it seems likely that Jesus' essential message is that under certain conditions (among other things, the rejection of "the hand that created mortal people"?), the souls of at least some of them will ascend, too, to the aeons on high. If these words clarify the metaphor of the sowing -- seed that falls on unfit soil does not grow and give fruit -- Jesus' answer is likely to mean that the souls of other people will also be saved, if, that is, the Gnostic truth finds fertile soil in these people.

I conclude that in the judgment of the Gnostics of the *Gospel of Judas*, the erroneous "piety" (cf. 33.26) and the misbehaviour of the disciples and their followers are consequences of their compliance with the rule of the deceptive cosmic powers, and -- the other side of the same picture – as a result of their rejection of the Gnostic truth. This interpretation means that in the *Gospel of Judas*, terms such as "generation (*genea*)" and "race (*genos*)" do not refer to closed and fixed classes of people. The possibility is left open that people of other "generations" or "races", too, will turn away from Saklas' pernicious rule and will eventually be saved.

b. *The* Secret Book of John[37]

In the case of the *Secret Book of John*, too, we face the question of how the "generation" of the Gnostics (here designated as "the immovable generation" or "race") is related to humankind in general. I assume that the clue to an answer lies

[34] Cf. also 40.17-18; 41.5-6; 54.16-24.

[35] In a damaged passage in an earlier dialogue with Judas (43.7-11), Jesus may have assured him that thanks to the gnosis, or other help from above given to Adam in paradise, his race would keep its life undefiled forever.

[36] This saying recalls the synoptic parable of the sower, particularly Mark 4:5 and par.

[37] For the following see the excellent study by Michael A. Williams, *The Immovable Race*, 1985, esp. 158-185.

in the section of the myth that speaks about Eve's children[38]. According to the *Secret Book*, Cain and Abel were the sons of Jaldabaoth and Eve[39]. In line with the then prevalent embryology, they were therefore imagined as demonic figures just like their father[40]. But Seth was "another seed" (cf. Gen. 4:25 LXX: σπέρμα ἕτερον,)[41]. He was not begotten by Jaldabaoth but by Adam, and from Adam he inherited the divine δύναμις. This means that in the *Secret Book of John*, Seth is the ancestor of all humans. Via Seth, they all possess the divine power which was breathed into Adam by the demiurgical God.

Apparently, the Gnostics of the *Secret Book* assumed that this power is in the soul of the human being as a seed or potentiality. Those who belong to "the immovable generation" -- John's "fellow spirits"[42]-- are people who developed their divine δύναμις, which meant that they were supposed to live a purely spiritual life in conformity with the Gnostic truth. Although all humans are descendants of Seth, not all belong to the immovable generation of the Gnostics.

This concept of "the immovable generation" is also in the background of the section of the *Secret Book*'s teaching about the destiny of the souls (BG 64.13-71.2 and par.). Here Christ affirms that the divine power[43] enters into all human beings ("for without it they would not be able to stand")[44]. But as it is covered with darkness in a world ruled by demonic enemies, the divine power in Adam and his descendants needs the help of the Spirit of Life. Cf. BG 67.10-12: "the strong Spirit of Life (…) strengthens the power"[45]. Christ warns John about the counterfeit spirit: when this spirit enters into the soul and carries it away, it will be led astray[46]. But, he adds, when the soul flees from the works of evil, it will be saved and taken up[47].

In the *Gospel of Judas*, a different terminology seems to express virtually the same idea. This text does not mention the Spirit of Life, which according to the *Secret Book* was sent by the true God to assist Adam and his offspring in their perilous situation. Instead, Jesus says, as we have seen, that "God caused gnosis to be given to Adam and to those with him in order that the kings of chaos and the underworld might not rule over them", which, in my opinion, comes down to the same thing. Nor does the *Gospel of Judas* mention the counterfeit spirit supposedly created by the cosmic rulers with the intention of leading Adam and his descendants astray. It is in the same vein when in the *Gospel of Judas* Jesus warns Judas about the rule of the evil angels and the stars.

Another point of agreement is the interest in "other human generations" (*GosJud*. 43.24-25) or "those into whom the counterfeit spirit entered" (*Secret Book*

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[38] Cf. Luttikhuizen, *Gnostic Revisions*, 83-96.
[39] BG 61.3-63.12 and par.
[40] They are mentioned in lists of demonic figures: BG 40.13 and par.; BG 63.1 and par.; IV 26.19 (Cain); BG 63.1 and par.; II 10.36 and IV 17.2; IV 26.20 (Abel).
[41] There is no mention of ἄλλο γένος. It seems that Epiphanius is responsible for the questionable assumption that "Allogenes" is another name for Seth (*Pan* 40.7.2).
[42] BG 75.18 and par.
[43] δύναμις in Cod II, III, and IV.
[44] BG 67.4-7 and par.
[45] For the spiritual helper sent by God to Adam and his offspring, see above 1b. Cf. also BG 64.3-13; 65.3-4; 66.14-16; 67.1-2, 9-12 and par.
[46] BG 67.14-18 and par.
[47] BG 68.10-11 and par.

BG 67.14-18). In the *Secret Book*, this category of people even has a heavenly prototype (which basically means that God knows them):

> In the fourth aeon were placed the souls of those who knew their perfection and did not repent at once, but persisted for a while. Finally they repented. It is in the fourth light, Eleleth, that they remain[48].

Also, in the *Gospel of Judas* (to wit in the short section dealing with the destiny of the souls, 43.15-44.7) an assurance is given that the souls of other people ("the rest of the human generations") will be saved if they reject the rule of the evil stars and open themselves to the Gnostic truth.

The *Secret Book of John* makes an exception for renegades -- people who received the Gnostic truth but then turned away[49]. Their apostasy is considered a sin against the Holy Spirit (the Spirit of Life) and as such will be eternally punished. On the one hand, it is hardly possible to reconcile this with the idea that the divine power is in every human being (BG 67.4-7, quoted above)[50]. On the other hand, the *Secret Book* does not state that such souls rejected the gnosis because they were evil by nature and therefore had no other choice. As Michael Williams observes, "the immovable race in this document is presented as though it were theoretically open to all who are receptive, but attained in practice only by a selection of souls" [51].

The harsh refutation of apostates in the *Secret Book* is comparable with the heated polemics directed against the twelve apostles and their second-century successors in the *Gospel of Judas*. We may take it for granted that these unqualified rejections of non-Gnostics were meant first of all as warnings to the readers[52]. People who chose to be ruled by evil angels or by a demonic counterfeit spirit instead of following the guidance of the Spirit of Life and living in accordance with the Gnostic truth could expect eternal punishment.

3. *Spirits and souls*

a. *The* Gospel of Judas

As we have seen, in 43.15-44.7, Jesus and Judas discuss the question of what happens to the soul when the body dies (above, 2a). Later on in the text (53.17), Judas comes back to this question, but now he does not mention the soul but the spirit: "Does the human spirit die?" The text of Jesus' answer (53.18-54.12) is badly damaged, and it is very difficult to understand the surviving parts. It should be noted

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[48] BG 36.7-14 and par. Cf. above, 1b.

[49] BG 70.8-11 and par. Cf. 1 John 2:18-19; 4:2-6.

[50] S. Davies, *The Secret Book of John*, 2005, 144, rightly observes that the idea of eternal punishment "contradicts the earlier assertion in this dialogue that all people will eventually become perfect and be saved".

[51] Williams, *The Immovable Race*, 167.

[52] Williams explains (167, n. 14): "the reference to those for whom there is no longer any repentance stands as a warning to the readers, and implies both the free choice of their attainment to salvation, as well as the possibility of 'falling'." N.R. Petersen emphasizes that the divine revelation of the *Secret Book* is given to the recipients "*so that* they will not waver" (his italics). And he adds: "Anything other than such a 'pastoral' interpretation of (the *Secret Book*) reduces it to the level of an informative compendium of religious speculation. But this it patently is not!" (*The Literary Problematic of the Apocryphon of John*, PhD diss. Harvard Univ. 1967, 133) quoted by Williams, ibid.

that in the preceding context (53.5-16) Jesus speaks of the brevity of the life of Adam and his children. I shall confine myself to quoting the following lines:

> Judas said to Jesus: "Does the human spirit die?" Jesus said: "In this way God ordered Michael to give the spirits of people to them to serve them as a loan. But the Great One ordered Gabriel to give the spirits to the great kingless generation –the spirit and the soul. Therefore, the [rest] of the souls [.....] light [.....] surround [.....] spirit within you (pl.) [which] you have let dwell in this [flesh] (coming) from the generations of angels. But God caused knowledge to be [given] to Adam and those with him, etc.

Jesus' answer raises two main problems. The first is connected with the distinction once again being made between humans in general and the holy generation, the second with the relationship between spirit(s) and soul(s).

Humans in general are associated with Michael but the great kingless generation with Gabriel. This is remarkable, for it might suggest some kind of preordination: only people of the kingless generation receive their spirit(s) from Gabriel, who is apparently regarded as an angel of higher rank than Michael[53]. The suggestion of a *praedestinatio* would be strongly accentuated if the God who ordered Michael is not "the Great One" but the demiurgical God[54].

To both statements Jesus adds a few words. He states that humans in general receive their spirits "to serve them as a loan"[55]. To the statement about the spirits having been given to the kingless generation he adds the following words: "the spirit and the soul"[56], possibly with a view to clarifying or correcting the term "spirits".

The addition to the first statement -- the spirits are given to humans "as a loan (…)" -- can be read in the light of 43.15-23 (see above, 2a): when the spirit leaves the people of the holy generation "their bodies will die, (but their souls will be alive, and they will be taken up)". If we see the loan metaphor in this light, it refers to the temporariness of human life on earth: humans have to give back their spirit, which causes the death of their bodies. This makes sense in the present context, for interpreted in this way, the loan metaphor bears upon the issue of the brevity of human life (discussed in 53.5-16). In this case, the term "spirit (pneuma)" is likely to mean "breath (of life)"[57].

How is this spirit concept related to the words, "the spirit and the soul", added to the statement about Gabriel giving the spirits to the kingless generation? At first sight, this addition means that the people of the kingless generation – and they alone – not only receive a spirit (which, as we have seen, at a certain moment in time leaves them, causing the death of their bodies) but also a soul. This would, however, contradict the words of Jesus in 43.15-44.13 (cf. esp. 44.6-7) to the effect that the souls (!) of other people will be saved, too, if the Gnostic truth finds fertile soil in them. Moreover, the damaged lines 53.25-54.1 seem to mention "the [rest] of the souls". In sum, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not our text claims that only the people of the kingless generation receive a soul.[58]

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[53] Cf. Van der Vliet, 125-128.

[54] This is suggested by Brankaer and Bethge, 361, although they realize that this God can hardly be the one who caused gnosis to be given to Adam (364).

[55] euy_mye epeuyap. Cf. the crit. ed., 225: "(God ordered Michael to give the spirits of people to them) as a loan, so that they might offer service".

[56] pep_n_a m_n teTuCH.

[57] An echo of the πνοη ζωης of Gen 2:7 LXX?

[58] Cf. R. Kasser, crit. ed., 249, n. 80: "phrase d' une clarté très limitée".

The next lines (54.2-8) are also barely legible and difficult to understand. It comes as a surprise that Jesus, in his address to Judas (?), uses the plural form "you": "[the?] spirit within you (pl.), [which] you (pl.) made to dwell in this [flesh] from the generations of the angels." Is Jesus addressing the disciples? If so, why are they made responsible for the dwelling of a spirit in the body created by Saklas and his angels (a few lines before, it was said that Michael and Gabriel gave the spirits to human beings). Or should we suppose that a different type of spirit is meant, spirit in a moral rather than an anthropological sense?[59]

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the text mentions three components of the human being: body, spirit, and soul. Or body, soul, and spirit, for it is not immediately clear what is considered to be the highest faculty. In fact, I doubt that these terms, notably the word "spirit", have the same referential meaning in all the contexts where they occur[60]. We cannot say more, I am afraid, than that the *Gospel of Judas* presupposes rather than consciously refers to a trichotomous anthropology[61].

b. *The* Secret Book of John

On this point, there is much more clarity in the *Secret Book*. According to this text, the human being is composed of three elements. This is particularly clear from its story of the creation of Adam (discussed before, 1b). We are told that the cosmic rulers first created Adam's soul. They would have "moulded" his soul out of themselves: one power created a "bone-soul", a second a "sinew-soul", a third a "flesh-soul", etc.[62] This description not only means that the human soul shares the substance or nature of the cosmic rulers, but also that it is subjected to their influence. The idea that the soul was "moulded" from psychical constituents suggests, furthermore, that it is imagined as a kind of fine-material (astral or ethereal) body. For the rest, it is strange to find that this psychic body was created after the image of God, for the only God-like element in the human being is the divine essence which the demiurgical God would breathe into Adam's soul-body[63].

Within this soul-body is the spiritual element (conceived of as divine essence, and designated as "the power of the Mother", see above, 1b). It is important to note that according to the *Secret Book*, the spiritual component of man was not created. Christ explains to John that the demiurgical God breathed it into Adam's soul[64]. It came into the soul from outside. While in his psychical element the human being is related to the cosmic rulers, his spirit is consubstantial with the transcendent God.

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[59] If a spirit in the anthropological sense is meant, this would imply that the disciples "eine archontische Rolle spielen" (Brankaer and Bethge, 364).

[60] Cf. 35.7-9: "their spirits could not find the courage to stand before him; 37.18f: "they were troubled in [their] spirit"; 47.: 'the great invisible [Spirit]"; 49.11f and 16: "the will of the Spirit"; 50.7f: "virgin spirits".

[61] With Brankaer and Bethge, 361.

[62] BG 48.16-50.14. Cf. the much more detailed accounts in NHC II 15.5-19.12; IV 23.20-29.21.

[63] This is an additional reason to suspect that the reference to the Genesis text was secondarily inserted.

[64] BG 51.14-52.2 and par.

In the dialogue about the destiny of the souls (discussed above, 2b) we read that when the soul puts off the body, it will be taken up to the aeons on high[65]. There is no reason to assume that in this section of the text, man's divine essence is no longer distinguished from the fine-material soul. The idea must be that the divine element returns to its hypercosmic origin while the soul is left where it originally belongs, i.e. in the "psychical" or ethereal realm of the cosmic rulers[66].

I doubt that it is possible to match the fragmentary anthropology of the *Gospel of Judas* to the virtually consistent and complete picture of the *Secret Book of John*. As far as we can ascertain from the surviving text, the *Gospel of Judas* does not mention the divine essence or power in the soul of Adam and his descendants. It would seem that instead[67] of a trichotomous anthropology and cosmology (divine spirit, cosmic soul, sublunar matter), we find in the *Gospel of Judas* traces of a more Platonic dualistic view of the world and man. This type of dualism is particularly apparent in the concept of Adam as an earthly copy of an ideal human being (Adamas). The contrasting of the holy generation ("the race that will last", 43.7-8) with mortal generations likewise points to a dualistic world view. On the other hand, one wonders what the position of the evil angels and the stars is. Although they will eventually be destroyed (55.19-20), are these cosmic beings viewed as just material phenomena, and located on the same level of existence as earthly bodies? And what is the position of Judas himself? In several recent studies he is regarded as a figure in between the holy generation of the Gnostics and the mortal generation of the apostles.

In 43.19-21, Jesus says that when the spirit leaves people of the holy generation their bodies will die but their souls will be taken up. Could this mean that it is the spirits that take up the souls?[68] In that case the spirits achieve what the souls, as vehicles of the divine element, are supposed to do in the *Secret Book* and in several contemporaneous texts, that is, to bring the highest element of the human being back to its home in the world above. In 53.17-54.12 (discussed above, 3a), Jesus mentions spirits along with souls. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this section of the text is badly damaged and, as a result, very cryptic. For this reason, any attempt to interpret these words must remain tentative and hypothetical.

4. *Conclusions*

It is possible to draw some conclusions. First of all, the *Gospel of Judas* gives us at the very best a fragmentary picture of the anthropological ideas of its author(s). This becomes more manifest when we compare the relevant information in the *Secret Book of John*. In some cases, the *Gospel of Judas* not only is incomplete or unclear but also seems to be inconsistent. On p. 52.19-25, for instance, we read that Eve is called "Zoë" in the cloud (does this mean that only the inhabitants of the divine world know who she really is?), and then, in the next sentence, that all the human generations call her by these (?) names (do also other generations call her Zoë?). It

[65] BG 65.6-8; 68.7-13 and par.
[66] The soul-body seems to function as a vehicle for the divine essence. For this widespread ancient concept see A.P. Bos, *The Soul and its Instrumental Body*, 2003, esp. 281-6.
[67] BG 48.16-50.14. Cf. the much more detailed descriptions in NHC II 15.5-19.12; IV 23.20-29.21.
[68] Cf. above, n. 67.

would seem that on p. 53.18-26 Jesus tells Judas that the angel Gabriel grants souls only to the people of the kingless generation, while elsewhere mention is made of the souls of other people. This gives rise to the question of whether or not we can find a form of deterministic soteriology in the *Gospel of Judas* (see further below).

There are reasons for re-examining the references to Gen 1-2, notably Gen 1:26-27, in the Gnostic myth as it is narrated in the *Gospel of Judas* and in other demiurgical-Gnostic texts[69], in particular the *Secret Book of John*. I have adduced some arguments in favour of the hypothesis that these references were secondarily inserted into a heterogeneous (i.e. Platonizing) myth of origins. If this is a correct hypothesis, it means that the Gnostic descent myth was not developed from allegorical interpretations of biblical texts. M. Friedländer was probably the first to propose this assumption (*Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898). His thesis is endorsed by several recent studies[70], in which the ("heterodox") Jewish contribution to the Gnostic thought world is emphasized[71].

In the *Gospel of Judas* and the *Secret Book*, the community of the Gnostics -- designated as "the holy (strong, kingless) generation" and the "immovable generation", respectively -- is clearly distinguished from other groups. Nevertheless, the two groups are not unconditionally separated: Gnostics can reject the truth and turn to the error of the stars or to the counterfeit spirit. On the other hand, the souls of "other people" can convert to the Gnostic truth. In the *Secret Book of John*, the converts even have a heavenly archetype.

As far as anthropology in the stricter sense is concerned, the *Secret Book* is far more transparent than the *Gospel of Judas*. In the *Secret Book*, the soul is clearly distinguished from its innermost centre, the divine essence or "power". In modern scholarship, this divine core is often designated as the spiritual component of the human being. It is not easy to decide what the precise meaning of the term "spirit (pneuma)" in the *Gospel of Judas* is.

In the *Secret Book*, all human beings possess the divine *dynamis*. The logical consequence must be that eventually the divine essence in all humans will return to its origin in God. However, as we have seen, the book makes an exception for apostates. With Michael Williams (and Norman Petersen), I am inclined to explain this inconsistency from the pastoral intention of the *Secret Book*. It is meant as a serious warning to the readers. No doubt the vehement rejection of the beliefs and practices of the apostles and their second-century successors in the *Gospel of Judas* renders the Gnostic position in a controversy with "apostolic" Christians. But this

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[69] I avoid the term "Sethian(s)". Cf. my recent article, "Sethianer?", *ZAC* 13 (2009).

[70] See e.g. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed. Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, 1984, 170: " the emergence of Gnosticism was strongly related to *exegetical* problems of the first chapters of Genesis"; B.A. Pearson,*Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, 1990, 133: "Gnosticism was a religious protest movement of late antiquity that, at least in its earliest history, based much of its mythology on Jewish scripture and tradition". For Friedländer's thesis see Pearson, "Friedländer Revisited: Alexandrian Judaism and Gnostic Origins", in *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, 10-28; Luttikhuizen, "Monism and Dualism in Jewish-Mystical and Gnostic Ascent Texts", in A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, E. Tigchelaar, *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Suppl. to JSJ, 122), 749-775, there 752-4.

[71] See also my forthcoming articles "Critical Gnostic Genesis Receptions", in E. Grypeou and H. Spurling, *The Exegetical Encounter between Christians and Jews In Late Antiquity* (JCP,), Leiden-Boston, 2009,…-…, and "Gnostische Erklärungen der Genesiserzählung", in …..

implacable language is also directed at the Gnostic readers: they are told what will happen to people who abandon the holy generation.

Gospel of Thomas fragments in the Papyrus Oxyrhynchus: In 1897 and 1903 three ancient fragments from a Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas were discovered during archeological excavations at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. It was initially unclear what document might have originally preserved these sayings of Jesus -- the Gospel of Thomas had been lost to history.Â This allows comparison of the Coptic texts with the original Greek version (the Gospel was originally written in Greek) and helps validate the surviving version of Thomas.Â Gnostic Fragments in Patristic Sources. In the polemical writings of the Church Fathers against the Gnostics, several fragments of their (soon to be destroyed) works were preserved. Many of these are collected here, with the source noted. Fragments of a Gnostic Anthropology in the Gospel of Judas. A Comparison with the Secret Book of John (2012). Dieser Sonderdruck ist im Buchhandel nicht erhiiltlich. Save to Library.Â Wrestling with the Archons: Gnosticism as a Critical Theory of Culture. Stuart Hall likened cultural studies to â€˜wrestling with the angels,â€™ stressing that this is a â€˜metaphor you can take as literally as you like,â€™ and that â€˜metaphors [â€¦] affect oneâ€™s practice.â€™ This paper will argue that Gnosticism, a more. Stuart Hall likened cultural studies to â€˜wrestling with the angels,â€™ stressing that this is a â€˜metaphor you can take as literally as you like,â€™ and that â€˜metaphors [â€¦] affect oneâ€™s practice.â€™ The gospel advances a Gnostic cosmology and portrays Judas in a positive light as the only apostle who fully understands Jesusâ€™ teachings. Although lost for centuries, the Gospel of.Â Gospel of Judas, apocryphal Christian scripture from the 2nd century ad attributed to the apostle Judas Iscariot. The gospel advances a Gnostic cosmology and portrays Judas in a positive light as the only apostle who fully understands Jesusâ€™ teachings. Britannica Quiz. Famous Documents. Which document governed the first Puritan colony in Massachusetts? Although lost for centuries, the Gospel of Judas was known to have existed because it was mentioned by St. Irenaeus of Lyon, who condemned it as a fiction in ad 180.

Gospel of Thomas fragments in the Papyrus Oxyrhynchus: In 1897 and 1903 three ancient fragments from a Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas were discovered during archeological excavations at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. It was initially unclear what document might have originally preserved these sayings of Jesus -- the Gospel of Thomas had been lost to history.Â This allows comparison of the Coptic texts with the original Greek version (the Gospel was originally written in Greek) and helps validate the surviving version of Thomas.Â Gnostic Fragments in Patristic Sources. In the polemical writings of the Church Fathers against the Gnostics, several fragments of their (soon to be destroyed) works were preserved. Many of these are collected here, with the source noted.

6Rudolf Bultmann, The Gospel of John: A Commentary (trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray; Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1971) 21.Â and "gnostic," as is seen explicitly in 24-31 of the Commentary, and especially 29, to wit, "It. [the Prologue to John] belongs to the sphere of early oriental Gnosticism." 8Bultmann, John, 21. Part of the issue is that for Bultmann "Judaism" is a reified entity, such that one could make the claim that "the Wisdom myth was not as such a living force in. Judaism; it was only a mythological and poetic decking-out of the doctrine of the law. Every-. thing that the myth related of Wisdom was transferred to the Torah: the Torah is pre-existent The Apocryphon of John trans. by Stevan Davies, along with extensive materials about the Gnostic traditions of John. This site includes the entire Hammadi Library, as well as a large collection of other primary Gnostic scriptures and documents.Â (Above image of the Gospel of Thomas courtesy of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate University). The Secret Book of John by Stevan Davies. The Apocryphon of John Collection (The Secret Revelation of John - The Secret Book of John). Gnosis Archive | Library | Bookstore | Index | Web Lectures | Ecclesia Gnostica | Gnostic Society. The Secret Book of John. (The Apocryphon of John). Translated by Stevan Davies. The Gospel of Judas is only one of many texts discovered in the last 65 years, including the gospels of Thomas, Mary Magdalene and Philip, believed to be written by Gnostics. The Gnostics' beliefs were often viewed by bishops and early church leaders as unorthodox, and they were frequently denounced as heretics. The discoveries of Gnostic texts have shaken up Biblical scholarship by revealing the diversity of beliefs and practices among early followers of Jesus. As the findings have trickled down to churches and universities, they have produced a new generation of Christians who now regar Further, in our dating of Johnâ€™s Gospel, even an early martyrdom would not preclude Johannine authorship, though it would preclude Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse. In conclusion, the external evidence is quite strong for Johannine authorship, being widely diffused and early. 3. Internal Evidence.Â BAGD); there are incidental comments about his being there (Judas slipped out at night [13:16] 4:6 [the sixth hour], etc.). (4) The Author was an Apostle. He has an intimate knowledge of what happened among the disciplesâ€”cf.Â (3) â€œJohn the elderâ€ is a very popular view, based on a certain reading of Papiasâ€™ famous quotation. But not only does Papias not speak of â€œJohn the elderâ€ (rather he speaks of â€œthe elder Johnâ€), he never says that such a person ever wrote the Fourth Gospel.

This ancient Gnostic text can be a companion for your own spiritual quest. The Secret Book of John is the most significant and influential text of the ancient Gnostic religion. Part of the library of books found in Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945, this central myth of Gnosticism tells the story of how God fell from perfect Oneness to imprisonment in the material world, and how b This ancient Gnostic text can be a companion for your own spiritual quest. The Secret Book of John is the most significant and influential text of the ancient Gnostic religion.Â Gnosticism as presented here has fascinating ideas and, in some ways, great explanatory power. By comparison to mythologies you are more familiar with, about impassioned superheroes, for instance, Gnosticism is complex and rich. The Secret Book of John, also called the Apocryphon of John or the Secret Revelation of John, is a 2nd-century Sethian Gnostic Christian text of secret teachings. Since it was known to Irenaeus, a Church Father, it must have been written before around 180 CE. It describes Jesus appearing and giving secret knowledge (gnosis) to John the Apostle. The author describes it having occurred after Jesus "has gone back to the place from which he came". The book is reputed to bear that revelation. A Comparison with the Secret Book of John (2012). Dieser Sonderdruck ist im Buchhandel nicht erhiiltlich. Save to Library.Â Ironically, while the Jewish rituals of thanksgiving, fasting, sacrifice, baptism are rejected, the portrayal of the Gnostic Jesus in Judas shows no familiarity with either the canonical traditions or with the Nag Hammadi texts. The proverbs of TC 41-43 particularly offer ambiguous evidence for its origin. Then, what is the source of the Judas proverbs? How can one find its textual genesis?